

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 LUSAKA 01206 280535Z

43

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

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R 271150Z JUN 75

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1786  
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
AMCONSUL LUANDA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 1206

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, AO, PO

SUBJECT: SAVIMBI ON NAKURA AGREEMENT, OTHER ANGOLAN MATTERS

1. SUMMARY. FOLLOWING RETURN FROM MFUWE WHERE HE HAD BRIEFED VACATIONING PRES KAUNDA ON NAKURU SUMMIT OF ANGOLAN LEADERS, UNITA'S JONAS SAVIMBI TELEPHONED AMBASSADOR FOR APPOINTMENT. THIS IS THIRD SUCH MEETING OF WHICH TWO AT SAVIMBI'S REQUEST. OVER JUNE 25 LUNCHEON TO WHICH HE ACCOMPANIED BY UNITA EXTERNAL AFFAIRS SECY JORGE SANGUMBA, SAVIMBI SAID MOST ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF NAKURU ACCORD IS AGREEMENT TO STOP FURTHER ARMS FROM COMING INTO ANGOLA. PORTUGUESE ROLE ESSENTIAL AS ONLY THEY HAVE AUTHORITY TO MAKE THIS AGREEMENT STICK. PRESENCE OF HOLDEN ROBERTO INSIDE ANGOLA IMPORTANT TO FURTHER PROGRESS BUT SAVIMBI ADMITS ROBERTO WOULD NOT BE TOLERATED IN LUANDA. HE SPOKE WITH SOME EMOTION ABOUT CHINESE "MISTAKES" IN AFRICA AND WAS CRITICAL OF MILITANCY AND BLATANT SYMPATHY FOR COMMUNIST STATES EXPRESSED BY SAMORA MACHEL. END SUMMARY.

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PAGE 02 LUSAKA 01206 280535Z

2. NAKURU AGREEMENT. SAVIMBI AT BEST GUARDEDLY OPTIMISTIC NAKURU TALKS MARK TURNING POINT AWAY FROM FURTHER VIOLENCE AND THREAT OF CIVIL WAR. NETO AT NAKURU SEEMED TO HAVE BECOME MORE MODERATE. WHETHER THIS CHANGED POSTURE WAS TACTICAL OR GENUINE SAVIMBI DOES NOT KNOW. NETO HAVING MORE LEADERSHIP TROUBLES WITH INCREASINGLY MILITANT LEFT WING UNDER NITO ALVES OPPOSED TO MODERATES LED BY LOPO DE NASCIMENTO. NETO IS IN MIDDLE BUT MUST LISTEN TO MILITANTS WHO HAVE STRENGTH OF ARMS BEHIND THEIR ARGUMENTS. BOTH NETO AND ROBERTO SAY THEY PREPARED TO MAKE NAKURU AGREEMENT WORK. MOST ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF AGREEMENT, ACCORDING TO SAVIMBI, IS TO STOP FURTHER ARMS SHIPMENTS FROM ENTERING ANGOLA. OVER SIX THOUSAND ANGOLANS, MOSTLY CIVILIANS, HAVE ALREADY LOST THEIR LIVES AND THERE IS DANGER OF MORE DEATHS. SAVIMBI FEARS POPULAR BACKLASH AGAINST ALL THREE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS UNLESS THEY CAN END FIGHTING AND LEARN TO COOPERATE.

3. PORTUGUESE ACTION ESSENTIAL. SAVIMBI WILL TRY TO IMPRESS ON PORTUGUESE THEY MUST USE THEIR AUTHORITY TO HALT ARMS SHIPMENTS INTO ANGOLA AND TO INVENTORY ARMS ALREADY THERE. HICOM SILVA CARDOSA MUST BE PERSUADED OF IMPORTANCE OF EFFECTING POLITICAL SOLUTION TO MAKE NAKURU AGREEMENT STICK. SAVIMBI BELIEVES PORTUGUESE VETERANS STILL IN ANGOLA WOULD BE PREPARED INTERVENE MILITARILY NOW TO WARD OFF EVEN MORE SERIOUS PROBLEMS FROM DEVELOPING LATER. HOWEVER, THESE VETERANS BEING REPLACED BY NEW AND MORE HIGHLY POLITICIZED CONSCRIPTS FROM PORTUGAL WHO FAR LESS WILLING TO FIGHT. LIKE EMBASSY LISBON (LISBON 3419,), SAVIMBI CONSIDERS THAT PORTUGUESE LEADERSHIP IN RECENT WEEKS HAS MOVED AWAY FROM SUPPORT FOR NETO TO MORE NEUTRAL POSTURE VIS-A-VIS THREE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. THIS IS BECAUSE PORTUGUESE NOW SEE IT IS MPLA WHICH HAS BEEN BASIC TROUBLEMAKER IN ANGOLA.

4. ELECTIONS. SAVIMBI FIRMLY OPPOSED NETO SUGGESTION THAT TRIPARTITE LEADERSHIP BE CONTINUED BEYOND INDEPENDENCE DAY. TROIKA HAS NOT WORKED AND THERE MUST BE ONE RECOGNIZED PRESIDENT WHEN INDEPENDENCE COMES. HOWEVER, SAVIMBI QUESTIONED WHETHER SUFFICIENT TIME NOW REMAINS TO DRAFT ELECTORAL LAW, REGISTER VOTERS, AND ESTABLISH MACHINERY FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS IN OCTOBER. ANGOLANS MAY BE ASKED IN CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 LUSAKA 01206 280535Z

OCTOBER VOTE ONLY ON CHIEF OF STATE, LEAVING ELECTIONS TO CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY UNTIL NEXT YEAR.

5. ROBERTO. IMPORTANT THAT HOLDEN ROBERTO RETURN TO ANGOLA SO HE CAN LEARN UNDERSTAND MOOD OF THE PEOPLE WHO WISH PEACE. ALSO, HE IS NEEDED TO MAKE URGENT DECISIONS AND HEALP RESTRAIN HIS FOLLOWERS. ROBERTO'S ABSENCE HAS HAD DISHEARTENING AFFECT ON FNLA FORCES WHICH INSIST UPON ENTERING INTO MILITARY

ENGAGEMENTS BUT LOSE MOST OF THEM BECAUSE OF SUPERIORITY OF MPLA'S SOVIET-SUPPLIED WEAPONS AND BECAUSE FNLA HAS NO LEADERSHIP OR ORGANIZATION. ALSO, MANY FNLA TROOPS REGARD ZAIRE, NOT ANGOLA, AS HOME AND DO POORLY IN UNFAMILIAR ANGOLAN ENVIRONMENT. ROBERTO MADE SERIOUS BLUNDER IN NOT RETURNING TO ANGOLA LAST MARCH WHEN THINGS WERE CALM. NOW HE FEARS FOR HIS LIFE IF HE RETURNS. HE COULD STILL RETURN EVEN NOW BUT NOT TO LUANDA WHERE PEOPLE HATE HIM. ROBERTO WOULD HAVE TO MAKE HIS BASE IN NORTH OR IN CENTRAL NOVA LISBOA AREA BUT THAT WOULD NOT GAIN HIM LARGER POLITICAL FOLLOWING AS THESE DISTRICTS SPARSELY POPULATED.

6. UNITA POSITION. SAVIMBI CONCERNED THAT IF FNLA POSITION CONTINUES TO WEAKEN, TRIUMPHANT MPLA WILL TURN AGAINST UNITA FORCES NOT ONLY IN LUANDA BUT IN COUNTRYSIDE AS WELL. ASKED HOW LONG UNITA CAN CONTINUE REMAIN OUT OF FIGHTING, SAVIMBI SAID HE DID NOT KNOW BUT HE HOPED AS LONG AS POSSIBLE. UNITA NON-BELLIGERENCE HAS INCREASED MOVEMENT'S PRESTIGE IN EYES OF PORTUGUESE AS WELL AS OF MANY ANGOLANS BUT SAVIMBI ACKNOWLEDGED THAT OVER LONG RUN FAILURE TO HIT BACK HARD AT MPLA FOR ATTACKS ON UNITA FORCES WOULD ERODE HIS TROOPS' MORALE. SAVIMBI SEEMED LITTLE CONCERNED ABOUT IMPACT ON LUANDA OF MPLA CONTROL OF CAXITO AND OTHER ACCESS ROUTES (LUANDA 796). SAID LUSANDA TOTALLY DEPENDENT UPON RURAL AREAS FOR ITS FOOD AND MPLA WAS COMPELLED REMOVE ROADBLOCKS IT HAD ERECTED WHEN IT BECAME EVIDENT FOOD FROM COUNTRYSIDE WAS NOT COMING INTO CITY.

7. CHINESE. SAVIMBI SAID CHINESE ARE INTERESTED IN ANGOLA FOR STRATEGIC REASONS AS ANGOLA COULD AFFECT ZAIRE, TO SOME EXTENT ZAMBIA. CHINESE NOW SHIFTING THEIR SUPPORT FROM ROBERTO TO MPLA SINCE POOR SHOWING OF FNLA FORCES TRAINED BY CHINESE HAVE CONVINCED LATTER THEY BACKING WRONG MOVEMENT. CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 LUSAKA 01206 280535Z

THEY WISH BE SURE OF HAVING SOME INFLUENCE IN INDEPENDENT ANGOLA. HOWEVER, SAVIMBI DOUBTS NETO WILL BE TAKEN IN BY THIS BELATED SHIFT OF CHINESE SUPPORT FROM HIS ENEMIES TO MPLA. SAVIMBI SPOKE WITH GREAT EMOTION ABOUT "MISTAKES OF CHINA" IN AFRICA. CHINESE DO NOT REALLY UNDERSTAND AFRICANS' MENTALITY AND THEIR ALMOST RABID SENSE OF INDEPENDENCE, ESPECIALLY OF THOUGHT. CHINESE BOSSINESS, REGIMENTATION, AND SUSPICION SMACKS TOO MUCH OF WAY COLONIALISTS TREATED AFRICANS.

8. FRELIMO. SAVIMBI CRITICAL OF SAMORA MACHEL FOR HIS BLATANT EXPRESSIONS OF SOLIDARITY WITH SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST COUNTRIES DURING INDEPENDENCE DAY SPEECHES. CHINESE ADVICE TO FRELIMO RESPONSIBLE. SAVIMBI OBVIOUSLY CONCERNED THAT MACHEL'S MILITANT LEFTIST VIEWS, ESPECIALLY HIS WARM PRAISE

OF MPLA LEADER NETO AND PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST LEADER CUNHAL  
(LOURENCO MARQUES 694) WILL ENCOURAGE AND ENHANCE LEFTIST  
ELEMENT IN ANGOLA.  
WILKOWSKI

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